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The Orange Journal.

OLIVER JOHNSON,
Editor and Proprietor.

Orange, N. J., May 1, 1877.

My Dear Garrison,

Your letter of yesterday is this moment received and read. I did not suppose for a moment that you expected me to copy your letter to Dr. Eliot; and I was entirely sincere in saying that I should be glad to do it. That letter I have never seen, and therefore cannot decide how far the Doctor's views agree with my own. I think it was a mistake on my part to make any comment on your reply, since I had neither space to present my own views adequately or to quote from you. But I need not assure you that I would sooner cut off my right hand than misrepresent you or consciously do you the least injustice. Our difference as to Grants Southern

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policy is more than four years old. I did not vote for Grant in 1872, in large part because I had lost faith in that policy, and believed him to be the tool of unscrupulous men. The result, I think, has proved that I was right. His conduct all last winter showed clearly enough that he was himself doubtful, to say the least, if he had acted wisely in regard to the use of troops in Louisiana and South Carolina. In one of his dispatches he indicated very clearly that he was coming to believe that his policy could not longer be persisted in; and for my part I have not the least doubt that he ~~utter~~ alleged the words I quoted as his.

The whole question, in some of its aspects, is a tangle. I am inclined to think that Hayes and Packard were both elected, but I don't feel sure of it. The Returning Board, as I understand it, had the right to count the votes for

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President, but not the right to count those for Governor. The duty of counting the latter belonged to the Legislature; so it is quite possible that while Hayes got the vote of the State by the legal working of the election machinery, Packard took it in the same way. The electoral Commission decided that it had not right to go behind the returns; if it had gone behind them I am by no means certain that it would have given the State to Hayes. Very likely it might have reversed the decision of the Returning Board in throwing out the votes of what were called the bulldozed parishes. The right of the Legislature to go behind the Governor returns is, I suppose, un-

questioned; and thus it might happen that while Hayes has a legal title, Packard had not.

But there's not the least use in grinding over these old grists. President Hayes, I think, decided rightly that the facts as they existed gave him no right to interfere by force. There was no such insurrection as the Constitution contemplates to make a legal foundation for a call for troops. It is plain that Grant's policy had utterly failed, and that persistence in it by Hayes would only have made things worse. That you do not see this is to me quite as strange as my view can be to you.

Any policy in regard to the South is but a choice of evils. Sumner was right in holding that those States should be made territories; but, having taken them

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back into the Union, we must know, at every hazard, accord them the rights of Citizens. If President Hayes's policy fails to give substantial protection to the negro, then there is no policy that can avail to do it under our Constitution. To have trodden further in Grant's footsteps would have been madness. But I hope for good results, and think I see many signs to encourage that hope. I believe it will take less than a year to convince you that the President has acted wisely and for the best good of all parties.

—How terrible is the calamity that has fallen upon Wendell and

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his dear wife and children! I am afraid Lucy, if she survives, will be a wreck. But I am sure Wendell will bear his trouble bravely. Will this calamity break up your plans of going abroad?

Jenny and baby are pretty well. We have lately moved to a pleasanter home.

Yours, affectionately,

Oliver Johnson.